aguardiente. And it was not unusual that they were unable to secure a single liter. In fact, it appears that the termination of drinking performances was in no small amount controlled by the exhausting of the community supply of aguardiente. What resale there was of aguardiente in the community was carried on by widows who might secure as much as five to six extra liters to resell to men who wished to continue drinking after their own supplies were exhausted. As a business venture, a widow would buy for three pesos the liter which she would sell for five, gaining thus ten pesos every month or six weeks.

At the fiesta of the patron saint, ladinos would bring in a supply of aguardiente to be sold. The large number of people coming from the neighboring towns made this a profitable venture for the three or four days of the fiesta. In order to increase the sale of the aguardiente (and other distilled beverages, as well as beer), ladino vendors set up cantina complexes in the plaza, the cantina consisting of a thatch or canvas shelter, a few tables and chairs, and principally a tocadisco--a loudspeaker system connected to a phonograph as well as a microphone, so that music and announcements could be made which could be heard from blocks around. Typically in this cantina pattern, a man from Aguacatenango would sit down with a few friends, drink a liter or two of aguardiente, and during this period, request that pieces be played on the tocadisco for which

295 he paid twenty centavos and in return for which payment his name
216 was announced over the loud speaker as well as the name of a
191 person to whom he might wish to "dedicate" the piece.

295 In 1959, there occurred a set of circumstances which per-
216 mitted the Aguacatenangueros to gain control of the elements of
191 the cantina complex, and in this year cantinas were established
198 permanently in Aguacatenango. As the result of some difficul-
ties in Pinola, the cantineros there were required by the town
government to sell or otherwise get rid of their tocadiscos.
[432] And three or four of them sold their tocadiscos to the men in
Aguacatenango. These gas generator-driven units were set up in
various yards in the community, the loudspeakers were mounted
on tall poles as is the custom in the neighboring towns, and
men came to these door yards when they were drinking to request
[171] pieces be played with appropriate dedicatory remarks. The can-
tineros in Aguacatenango then simply filled out the rest of the
cantina complex as they had seen it in the plaza.

442 They began to buy aguardiente by the garafón, most of it
275 from clandestine distillers in the neighboring towns who deliver
432 it to the buyers, and also beer and other distilled beverages,
439 these being delivered by San Cristóbal distributors or bought and
transported there by cantineros.

295 Thus the retailers of alcohol drunk by Aguacatenangueros
are no longer ladinos and local widows, but local men. Some of

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

000 town. However, other cooperatives have been successfully organized to
474 finance small-scale oeprations. Five record players with loudspeakers have
275 been installed in the houses of members who sell liquor. Once the initial
• 216 investment is made, the operating costs are low: 27 pesos for electricity, 25
454 pesos for a liquor license, 30 pesos for *hacienda* or state tax, and 10 pesos
434 for the township tax. Liquor bought at 60 pesos for an 18-liter jug is resold at 72 pesos. The total monthly cost of 92 pesos yields a net profit of about 300 pesos. The cost of the installation, 5,000 pesos, was low enough for some of the richer members of the community to finance individually, but as one of the operators told me, it was too risky—that is, too profitable.
474 The envy the neighbors would feel on seeing the profits made would
434 never result in witchcraft against all of the members, whereas an individ-
626 ual owner could expect that he himself or a member of his household
754 would become ill or die as the victim of witchcraft. These early entrepreneurs recognize the value of the cooperative in overcoming the force of envy which has effectively inhibited acquisition or display in these corporate Indian communities. Instead of socializing losses, one of its functions
[182] in modern capital organizations, the cooperative in Tzo?ontahal serves to socialize gains.

474 The most enterprising action of the new cooperatives has been the pur-
493 chase of a truck, initiated by the entrepreneur, Santos. The purchase of the
452 truck was inspired by the example of the Ladino secretary, who with his wife and son had a monopoly on the transportation of pottery, people, and wheat out of the village. Furthermore, in the neighboring town of Zinacantan the Indians were successfully operating two trucks. Santos went with his brother to the director of the I.N.I. in Las Casas to ask for a co-signer on the installment purchase of a Chevrolet truck, since without a Ladino sponsor Indians could not get credit with the company. According to one informant, I.N.I. officials advised them that they would not be able to profit from this venture and that they should buy a tractor with their money. The brothers persisted and went to the Dodge company in the state capital. The company agreed to sell to the Indians without Ladino co-signers on the basis of a down payment of 10,000 pesos. The initial payment was raised with thirty Indians putting up the money. Some gave no more than 150 pesos, but as the instigators of the purchase remarked, "The more members we have, the more power it gives us."

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

coming from the smaller towns to buy. The Indians still bring pottery to sell retail in towns that they visit during a fiesta. One of these is the barrio of Lok'ibal in the município of Villa Carranza, where people go on the third Friday of Lent to get holy water from the spring.

The Indians have not taken advantage of the truck to buy pottery wholesale and market it directly in the smaller towns, selling from the truck in the plaza as some of the wholesale fruit truckers do. Another operation which they have failed to profit from is buying the wheat harvest and selling to government warehouses, as some of the Ladino truckers do.

Lack of capital is the major reason for failure to exploit these opportunities. In marketing the contraband liquor, which is the most flourishing of the new enterprises, the Indians have not yet entered into the external markets except in the case of one young unmarried mother. Wholesale purchases are made by Ladinos, primarily women, from other towns who resell the liquor in Comitán and on the coast. There is however, a well-developed home market since all contracts are sealed with the offering of liquor, the "gift of the gods," all court fines are paid in liquor, and the main gift in betrothal is liquor. The cantinas with phonograph players opened by the cooperatives operate very successfully on Saturday night and during fiestas. The internal market for liquor is controlled by a syndicate of the forty-two independent liquor distillers. The price is set at 4 pesos per liter for all buyers, with the buyer providing the bottle.

Agricultural production is not geared to a market, and Indians do not take advantage of fluctuations in price. Wheat yields a lower return per unit of land than corn, but it is grown for two reasons: the Indians believe that crop rotation of corn and wheat prevents depletion of the soil, and wheat requires less work since no cultivation is needed. Wheat is a cash crop and none of it is milled or consumed directly in town. Poor families sell their wheat "standing" to Teopisca truckers. The price given the grower is usually about 90 pesos per hundred kilograms, and it is resold at 110 or 120 pesos in Tuxtla or to the government storehouses. Wheat is sometimes brought directly to San Cristóbal millers who give 120 per hundred kilograms. Corn is primarily a subsistence crop when grown in the center. Corn grown in hot country ejido land is now sold in Teopisca and San Cristóbal. The local truck cooperative has a special permit which gives